Weaker Wings of Nation's Textile Industry

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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BASIC EDUCATION AND THE CONSTITUTION

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

The Constitution of India has laid down the following Directive regarding education:

> "The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." (Art. 45)

We all know that it was late Shri G. K. Gokhale and national workers of his pursuation that followed him to whom we owe the national objective of free and compulsory primary education. This was a natural corollary from and complementary to the late Lokamanya Tilak's famous *mantra* — 'Swaraj is our birthright'.

Gandhiji held both these great national leaders in very high esteem. He humbly claimed for himself that he was only working for the fulfilment of the great ideals that these great leaders of the people had placed before us. He pointed out Satyagraha and Constructive Programme to realize the birthright of Freedom; for free and compulsory primary education he put before us the idea of Basic Education and in respect thereof he went so far as to say that it was the greatest gift from him to the nation.

Late Shri Gokhale had in view mainly the quantitative expansion of primary education. And he meant by it the knowledge of three 'R's i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic. Even today many in our country seem to hold this notion of education.

If the work of primary education is to be continued with this conception as its centre, it will be a great burden to the tune of crores every year on the national exchequer and that too with no satisfactory results. Because none is satisfied with what goes on today in the name of primary education. All speak with one voice that it is ill-conceived, wrong-based, and divorced from real life and not in the interest of the masses. So it needs a thorough overhauling and it should not be prohibitive in expenses.

So not only from the point of quantitative expansion of education alone but considering the question of quality and expenses, Gandhiji put before the country a revolutionary idea for a radical transformation in the system of education. It deals not only with the primary education alone but covers secondary education also, and being at the base it is capable of giving shape and form to higher education as well. The central idea in it was to plan a system of education best suited for our people living in the villages and on that foundation to construct an edifice of new citizenship of Swaraj in free India.

This idea is not laid down in the Directive of the Constitution given above. It is a defect of the Article. Though the Central Government has adopted the principle of Basic Education and has declared that Secondary Education will be further carried on on these lines, it will gain an added weight if this thing is incorporated in the Constitution. It will then become the constitutional responsibility of the Government. It is therefore necessary that a clarification should be introduced in the Constitution. That will be the proper tribute to the Father of the Nation. That will mean a right measure indicative of proper evaluation of the new thing that India has contributed in the sphere of education. We know that the Working Committee of the Congress has appointed a sub-committee to study and suggest amendments in the Constitution. It would be right and proper for this Committee to recommend an addition of an explanation to the Art. 45 of the Constitution that this education shall be in accordance with the principles of Basic Education presented to us by the Father of the Nation.

If the Committee does this there will be one more advantage. It will avert the possible danger of a reaction in policy that may follow in the wake of a change in the Government or deliberate distortion of the basic idea that is apprehended. For then it will become unconstitutional to go back on the directive of the Constitution. In this regard it would be fit if the Hindustani Talimi Sangh makes a suggestion to the Congress.

13-4-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)

MENACE TO EMPLOYMENT

(*By Mankumar Sen*)

The following is from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta (Town Edition) dated February 4, 1954:

"On invitation from various Indian business concerns both in Calcutta and other industrial cities, a British expert has come to Calcutta from London by air on Wednesday afternoon. The expert has been invited specially *to advise the business firms on mechanizing the factories to improve service efficiently*" (italics mine).

While we can only hazard a guess as to the exact nature of such mechanization, the concluding words of the excerpt leave very little room for doubting that what is intended is the introduction of 'labour-saving' devices among probably other measures. Because, 'efficiency' today is defined by 'maximum production with minimum cost', and almost invariably this cost-reduction is effected by drastically curtailing the wages or driving out the wage-earners. The volume of production is thus maximized with the minimum of cost and the produce is then priced competitively.

Keeping this general practice of the large factories in mind, one cannot but view with anxiety the afore-stated drive, to 'improve service efficiently'. In fact this sort of mechanization or, — in a more mouthful term, 'rationalization' — has already assumed proportion menacing to national employment. Consistent with their policy of employment and more employment for the people, the Government of the country cannot overlook or lightly brush aside measures that not only not broaden the scope for employment but actually hinder it.

In the Kalyani Exhibition (during the recent session of the Congress) was shown the working of an automatic *bidi*-making machine which produces one thousand and five hundred *bidis* per hour. 1,500 is the maximum that an expert *bidi*-maker can reach in course of a 12 hour working day; this means, the Automatic drives out of employment nearly 12 persons on average a day. It need not be told that *bidi*-making is the means of subsistence for lakhs of people, including a large number of women and children. This is one of the few home industries which afford scope even to a delinquent or a physical wreck to work and earn. Automatization of this industry and similar other industries will obviously displace persons who have neither the education nor the capital resources to fall back upon other means of livelihood.

I hope, balanced economists will agree with me that to maintain a reasonable level of national employment, crude methods have to be followed in certain spheres of production. Because, as the processing of the raw material into finished products advances, there is lesser and lesser demand of human labour and more and more need of capital and organization. So we have to select spheres or sectors where finer mechanical process will not be allowed to trespass, in the name of efficiency; and *bidi*-making industry with many others certainly deserves this protection. What is passing under the name of 'efficiency' is, in fact, a clever modern device of capital to exploit labour and the labouring masses, more skilfully. It is high time our Government approaches this problem in a realistic manner and restrict the mechanization policy within appropriate limits. Indiscriminate mechanization is bound to be unhelpful to the national employment policy and it ultimately reacts on the manufacturers and business men too, unfavourably. The labour constitutes a vast majority of the buying public. To the extent employment is lost to them there is loss of purchasing power or effective demand for the manufacturer's goods. Thus sets in depression. Let us be forewarned.

CONFUSED THINKING IN INDUSTRY

(*By S. N. Agarwal*)

While replying to the general debate on the Budget, the Finance Minister, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, made a few observations regarding the policy of rationalization in Indian industry. Everybody desires to adopt a "rational" approach to industrial problems. But we should also try to understand clearly that rationalization cannot and should not be reduced to a "fetish" or an orthodoxy. It only connotes a scientific approach to our economic and industrial problems which differ from region to region in accordance with local circumstances. Rationalization may mean one type of industrial organization in the United States of America where labour is scarce and capital is abundant; it may mean quite a different pattern of industrialization in a country like India where capital is scarce and labour is abundant. It would, therefore, be wholly irrational to plead for rationalization of industry in India on the American model.

In India the fundamental problem that faces economic planners is the question of absorbing the unemployed or under-employed man-power both in the rural and urban areas. As a matter of fact, our idle labour power is our real national capital which must be tapped effectively for producing additional wealth in the country. "Mechanization is good," observed Gandhiji, "when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished." "It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India." Gandhiji was, therefore, not against machinery as such; what he was against was the "craze" and "indiscriminate use" of machinery. "I would welcome", said Mahatma Gandhi, "the machine that lightens the burden of crores of men living in cottages." "If we could have electricity in every village home, I would not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity."

Mr David Morse, Director General of the I.L.O., in the course of his Annual Report for 1953 also observed that "it would be inappropriate to attempt to adopt in countries where labour is abundant and cheap and capital scarce and dear, the capital-intensive and labour-saving methods of production which are appropriate in such countries as the United States and Canada."

In a country like India, therefore, the proper formula of industrial reorganization ought to be: Full employment *plus* maximum production. Any attempt to provide fuller employment without trying to increase per capita productivity of labour would be suicidal in a country with backward economy. At the same time, all plans to augment total industrial production without providing for fuller employment opportunities to the millions of our unemployed or partially employed countrymen would amount to a national crime of the worst order. The correct solution of our economic ills, therefore, lies in balancing the twin objectives of fuller employment and increased productivity.

It is wrong to think that an increase in per capita productivity is possible only through large-scale industrialization. Even in the age of modern science, too many labour-saving devices merely for increasing productivity of wealth are very unwise and even inhuman. It is astonishing to find that despite dizzy heights that America has achieved in the domain of industrial production, there are even today about 37 lakhs of people who have to be maintained by the State as unemployed labour. The lot of these unemployed "dole-eaters" is surely very unenvious; they suffer miserably not only physically and mentally but also morally and spiritually. In India, we would like to develop a system of decentralized industrial economy which would provide work to all rather than "doles" to some. We are not against efficiency and technological progress provided it promotes human welfare and evolution. In computing the costs of production through merely mechanical devices, we should never lose sight of the social costs which are involved in human suffering and degradation as a result of unemployment. In other words, our ideal should be "economic efficiency" and not merely "mechanical efficiency". Mere technological progress results in a society where "wealth accumulates, but men decay."

These days, we hear much about the urgent need for "capital formation". We are told by financial "experts" that economic development specially under a backward economy cannot be achieved without finding more capital for further investment. This is, of course, true to a large extent. But it is no use reducing this idea to a dogma or an economic creed. To my mind, much more important than capital formation is the urgent need for setting up an organization for harnessing the idle man-power of India for developmental purposes. It is evident that even for utilizing this unemployed man-power, some amount of capital would be essential. But the fact remains that our real capital in India is that of "enforced idleness" which could be very profitably used as "spontaneous activity" for re-building New India of our dreams. Instead of talking too much about "capital formation" it would, therefore, be more appropriate to discuss the problems of "labour organization". Our industrialists and economic "experts" have turned the question of capital formation into a bogey and even a myth; it is high time the myth is exploded with understanding and constructive criticism.

It is said that ours is a "mixed economy" in which the private sector must be given ample scope for expansion and development. It is also contended that the process of rationalization is almost inevitable under a mixed type of economy. To be frank, we do not very much relish the term "mixed" economy; it savours of mixed or confused thinking and indecisive action. A much better word for the kind of "golden mean" economy that we visualize would, perhaps, be a "balanced" or "middle" economy. We desire to avoid both the extremes of capitalism and totalitarianism by following the middle way of decentralized economy for consumer goods industries and nationalization of the "key" or mother industries. We have no doubt in our minds that this type of "middle economy" is the best for India under the existing circumstances. The canting critic turns round and remarks: "By encouraging cottage and village industries in the country, you shall only *distribute poverty*." The industrialists are now trying to use this remark almost as a slogan to damn cottage and small-scale industries. We desire to stoutly refute the implications of this unfair and unjust remark. If fruits of latest technique and research are made available to the cottage and village industries, we are sure that their efficiency and productive capacity would improve considerably. In fact, even a world-renowned industrialist like Henry Ford admits that, "as a general rule, a large plant is not economical" and that "big business must scatter through the country not only to obtain the lowest costs but also to spend the money of production among the people who produce the product." At any rate, we would earnestly plead for the redistribution even of "poverty" in order to stop without any further delay this vulgar display of wealth in our country in the form of "cocktail" parties, receptions, palacial houses and luxury cars. New India of Gandhiji's dreams is now taking shape and the gaping gulf between the rich and the poor cannot be tolerated any further.

(Adapted from *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*, 1-4-'54)

HARIJAN

April 24 1954

WEAKER WINGS OF NATION'S TEXTILE INDUSTRY

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, while inaugurating the Textile Industry Centenary Celebrations in Bombay, dwelt at some length on the existence of conflicts in the textile industry. As we know, the industry works through three main wings — 1. The Textile Mill, 2. The Handloom, and 3. The Charkha and Khadi. The three wings, so far at least as the bulk and money-values are concerned, are in the same order of importance as stated above. However, that is not the true nor the whole index of their importance, as there are various other and more vital aspects from which their importance should be considered. The view that the Union Minister took of the matter was not only superficial but also it was biased in favour of the bulky and more vocal, the wealthier and the deeply entrenched wing, viz., the textile mill. The following are some of the observations he is reported to have made in the course of his inaugural address :

Regarding the handloom he said, the handloom and mill interests were at loggerheads. While he deplored it, he was not perturbed about it, because he felt assured that the handloom industry could not exist without the spinning mill. And he was cocksure that the Charkha was not going to thrive so much as to supply yarn to the handloom, and hence the latter will always be at the doubtful mercies of the textile mill.

About Khadi he felt still more comfortable, because he felt that it would never replace the handloom nor the mill industry ; and with some air of authority he said that, "we have, as a government, now taken away the political significance of Khadi to some extent and have begun to emphasize the economic significance of it."

One does not know what the Hon. Minister meant by the 'political' significance of Khadi as apart from its basic economic and social value for our unemployed masses. It gives employment at their very doors and without displacing anybody, unlike the textile mill which cannot thrive without exploiting or displacing labour and drawing away nation's hard-earned capital for private aggrandizement. However, the Hon. Minister was pleased to recommend to the textile mill industry "to think kindly of handloom and Khadi, so that the conflicts could be removed ".

Having allowed these small mercies to the two weaker wings of the National textiles, he went all out to proffer help and guidance and government sympathy to the strongest wing, viz. the mills, and suggested that modernization of mill machinery must be undertaken ; and he went so far as to say that it was not only in their interests, but also in those of labour as well as the people in general. If anybody, apart from the mill-owners, can rival the Commerce Minister in bold assertion of such faith, he might perhaps be the Finance Minister of India who also stands for what is called 'rationalization'. I reproduce in this issue an article by Shri S. N. Agarwal, which tries to show how irrational and unwise it would be to undertake this 'rationalization' so-called, which will really, in the conditions obtaining in India at present, mean and result into aiding and abetting the social malady of growing private capitalism here.

Shri Morarjibhai Desai in his presidential remarks on the occasion well said that in any modernization scheme contemplated by the mill industry, the Government had to take into consideration the implications regarding the labour force ; and Government would not be a party to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. It will be wholly unscientific and irrational to forget that the main and urgent thing to do in India is to secure full employment of millions of our un- or under- employed people, by rationalizing the textile production in all its three wings on a national basis. This requires that the Charkha and the handloom must be organized and planned to give sound work and the textile mill must be controlled and directed to subserve that main objective. In this regard, research for technical improvement in our rural implements should be undertaken on Government and national levels. The Planning Commission in alliance and cooperation with the Khadi and Village Industries Board must now begin to apply its mind to this project, so that the new Five Year Plan might be framed accordingly. The Industry Minister will do immense service to the people by agreeing to show his sympathy and consideration to this project. The mighty mill industry can surely take care of itself. It is the weaker two wings that should be diligently and carefully helped under Swaraj.

14-4-'54

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UNEMPLOYMENT OF TAPPERS UNDER PROHIBITION

(*By Gandhiji*)

He (Shri Gajanan Naik) suggests that tapping need not stop at all. Only what tappers will tap under the Prohibition regime will be sweet toddy which will be converted into *gur* instead of fiery liquid. Indeed I learn that, in Andhradesh, the tappers do not sell the palm juice they extract, but they convert it into *gur* which they sell to the arack manufacturers who make arack out of this *gur*. In such cases, nothing need be done except for the State to take over this *gur* at a reasonable agreed price. From what I know of the tappers, they are not likely to lose anything by the impending Prohibition, and the poor will get a rich but cheap food in the shape of good pure *gur* instead of a liquid which harms both body and soul.

(*Harijan*, 14-8-'37)

[The question of tapping and *Neera* has come up again due to Prohibition in Andhra, particularly because of consequent unemployment of tappers. A constructive worker of Andhra writes to say that *Neera* should be used to produce palm-*gur*. Theoretically, the proposition is sound and immediately helpful, provided *Neera* is not used for illicit use as toddy. Gandhiji's suggestion reproduced above is for Government to procure all palm-*gur* from the tappers-cum-*gur*-manufacturers and market it as cheap food. The Minister for Prohibition in Andhra, I hope, will give serious thought to the suggestion as a step for making Prohibition successful there.

20-4-'54 M. P.]

GRANT TO HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA

(*By Amritlal Nanavati*,

Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha)

During the recent debate on national language in the Parliament, Maulana Azad is reported to have observed that the Hindustani Prachar Sabha of Wardha was largely engaged in propagating Hindi and not Hindustani. He however, justified the grant that was being given to it by the Education Ministry of the Government of India on the ground that it was founded by Mahatma Gandhi.

It has been pointed out that the Maulana Saheb's remark can be construed to mean that the Hindustani Prachar Sabha has abandoned the goal set for it by Gandhiji, i.e. propagation of Hindustani written both in Devanagari and Persian scripts. I do not think Maulana Saheb could have meant that. Any way, it is necessary to restate the position so that there should not be even a shadow of doubt left in the minds of the public in this regard.

As early as 1909, Gandhiji wrote in *Hind Swaraj*:

> Every cultured Indian will know in addition to his own provincial language, if a Hindu, Sanskrit; if a Mahomedan, Arabic; if a Parsee, Persian; and all, Hindi. Some Hindus should know Arabic and Persian; some Mahomedans and Parsees, Sanskrit. Several Northerners and Westerners should learn Tamil. A universal language for India should be Hindi, with the option of writing it in Persian or Nagari characters. In order that the Hindus and the Mahomedans may have closer relations, it is necessary to know both the characters. And, if we can do this, we can drive the English language out of the field in a short time.

In 1918, he repeated those views while presiding over the Indore session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. He continued to work with the Sammelan till 1941.

In December 1941, the Sammelan in its session at Abhor officially adopted the view that although historically "Hindi" included what is known as Urdu, the two are separate and distinct. The Sammelan defined its objective as the propagation of the use of the word "Hindi" and Hindi style of writing and speech on literary as well as national grounds. As a result in May 1942, with the consent of the Standing Committee of the Sammelan, Gandhiji established the Hindustani Prachar Sabha at Wardha with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as President and himself as the Vice-President. It was his wish that the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and Hindustani Prachar Sabha should work in co-operation with each other. But this did not happen. Therefore on the 15th July, 1945, Gandhiji tendered his resignation from the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. In his letter of resignation addressed to Shri Purushottamdas Tandon, he wrote:

> "I have always been a prisoner of your love. But now the time has come when the same love prompts me to part company with you. I have not been able to make you see my point. I would, therefore, request you to place this letter before your Committee. I think that the Sammelan has not adopted my definition of Hindi. My thoughts have now travelled even further in that direction. *Lingua franca* of my definition includes a knowledge of Hindi and Urdu written in either Devanagari or Persian script. In the process, a synthesis of the two may result. I am afraid my position will not be acceptable to the Sammelan. I therefore request that my resignation be accepted. In the difficult task of propagating Hindustani I shall be serving Hindi and Urdu both."

To bridge the gulf between the two viewpoints Gandhiji gave the national language of his definition the name of 'Hindi-Hindustani' or 'Hindi i.e. Hindustani'. The Congress accepted this definition.

After the political division of India, Gandhiji took up the stand that partition did not and should not divide the hearts of the people and that culturally the whole country from Kashmir

to Cape Comorin was and should remain as one. The Hindustani Prachar Sabha was to work to that end without any change in its policy.

After Gandhiji's death, during the discussion on the annual budget of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha in March 1948, Maulana Azad, who was one of the founders of the Sabha, said that since they had now their own Government at the Centre, they could expect the Government to help them in their work. At Maulana Saheb's suggestion, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the then President of the Sabha, wrote to the Government and ever since the Government has been giving grant-in-aid regularly to the Sabha. A similar grant was made to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan also.

In September, 1949, the Constituent Assembly adopted Hindi, written in Devanagari script, as the national language. Article 351 of the Constitution reads :

> "It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."

This was more or less identical with the definition of Hindustani as given by Gandhiji, except in regard to Persian script. Taking every thing into consideration the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, therefore, welcomed the decision of the Constituent Assembly. The Standing Committee of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, on the other hand, in its sitting of September 29, 1949, "after considering the whole decision" of the Constituent Assembly, recorded "its deep dissatisfaction" with it, but did not oppose the grant which it continued to receive.

Hindustani Prachar Sabha has one and only one goal i.e. to propagate Hindustani as defined by Gandhiji. The objective of the Sabha has been defined as follows in the Constitution of the Sabha :

> To propagate Hindustani which could be used throughout the country for administrative, social, political, business and such other purposes and may become the medium for intercourse between provinces with different languages.
>
> By Hindustani is meant the language spoken, understood and used in their mutual affairs by Hindus, Muslims and all others in the villages and towns of Northern India and which is written in Persian and Nagari script and whose literary forms are known as Urdu and Hindi, and which adopts words and idioms from the different provincial languages for its enrichment.

At present besides Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Kaka Saheb Kalelker, Pandit Sunderlal, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Khwaja Saheb Abdul Majid of Aligarh, Dr. Tarachand, Shri Shrimannarayan Agarwal, Shrimatis Rameswari Nehru, Perin Captain, Shri Maganbhai Desai, and Shrimati Rehena Tyabji are among the founder members. Dr. Rajendra Prasad asked to be relieved of his office of the President of the Sabha when he became Rashtrapati. He however continues to be a member of the Executive Committee of the Sabha and all the meetings are, as a rule, held in his presence. In his place Kaka Saheb Kalelker was elected President of the Sabha.

In implementation of its policy, to give instruction in Hindustani, the Sabha (1) conducts classes where both Devanagari and Persian scripts are compulsory. To this end it has been able to secure the services of nearly 300 honorary workers in its various centres. (2) It holds examinations in Hindustani (proficiency in both the scripts is compulsory) in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bombay, Assam, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh etc. The number of candidates sitting in these examinations annually is about ten thousand. (3) The Sabha has prepared text books in Hindustani in both scripts for the use of candidates appearing in these examinations. (4) The Sabha has published Hindustani translations of select literature from various provincial languages and also some original books in Hindustani. (5) The Sabha has already got prepared dictionaries of various provincial languages into Hindustani and vice versa as also a dictionary of basic Hindustani. A Marathi-Hindustani dictionary has already been published. (6) It brings out a periodical *Mangal Prabhat* to experiment in new forms of Hindustani. One article in every issue is in both the scripts. (7) It is conducting a school for higher studies in Hindustani and a number of scholarships have been made available to the students of various provinces for the same.

In the end, I would appeal to all lovers of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani to work together for the development and propagation of the national language and the regional languages in a spirit of mutual co-operation and goodwill instead of getting lost in the wastes of ununderstandable jargon which is being given currency to in Government Departments in the name of Hindi. It is only when our administration begins to conduct its affairs in the language understood by the common man that we shall achieve the cultural unity and independence of India as we have achieved her political independence.

New Delhi, 9-4-'54

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IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE CONTROLLED USE OF VIOLENCE *

(*By Vinoba*)

There is a very interesting controversy going on in the Press presently. The U.S.A. has manufactured the Hydrogen bomb and they are experimenting with it in the Pacific, in order to study the range and potency of its destructive power. Now the Hydrogen bomb, as you must have read, is a very dangerous thing. The effects of these experiments, it is feared, may very well spread far beyond the area where they are being carried out. Hence the controversy.

England says that the experiments should in no case be carried out in the Atlantic. Pandit Nehru has expressed the view that such experiments are totally wrong and should be stopped altogether. No matter where carried out their effects would reach out to hundreds of miles. None can foretell what results seen and unseen might follow the unleashing of the terribly destructive energy contained within these bombs. Therefore the experiments must cease.

But why manufacture them at all, if you are not going to experiment with them? If experimenting is banned, where is the sense in producing them? And why only the Hydrogen bomb, why not all other weapons? Here is the explanation: Even those who believe in violence agree to the need of setting a limit to the use of such violence. Since the Hydrogen bomb might well bring about the end of man and his world, — an outcome too terrible to contemplate —, its use should be banned and steps taken to control or even stop its production. Only they forget that violence once resorted to is not amenable to any limits being put on its use.

This is not the first time that attempts are being made to restrict the scope of violence. Such attempts have been repeatedly made in the course of the history and they have never succeeded. In the Mahabharat, which embodies the essence of human history, we find that there were elaborate rules restraining the warriors from taking recourse to unfair practices. But as the war progressed, they proved of no avail at all, and were repeatedly broken on both sides. And this happened in spite of the fact that both parties to the war included men of the highest eminence both in regard to knowledge and the integrity of character. The Kauravas had Bhishma and Drona and the Pandavas had Yudhisthir and Arjun and there was Shrikrishna on whom both could rely for correct guidance.

Why then did they break these rules? The reason is simple: Violence admits of no limits being imposed on it. One cannot guide it along a predetermined course. One may fix the limits beyond which one would not go and try to observe them, but occasions arise which call for an unhindered use of violence in the interest of victory and the limits are swept off. This is the lesson of Mahabharat which I said contains the quintessence of all history. It is that there can be no limits to violence once it is resorted to, that it brings destruction to all, and the safest course therefore is to abjure it totally.

We are now living in the age of science. Science has placed at our disposal innumerable instruments which can be employed both for construction and destruction. For science is power and like every power may be used for both good and bad ends. The way out lies in making use of our intelligence which alone can distinguish between what is good and what is bad. "Take refuge in the intelligence" says the Lord in the Gita.

This approach to the problem of the improvement of society and the experience of history of our country and of the world yield the conclusion that this belief in power of violence as an effective instrument for creating peace and order or for reconstructing the society is a fond illusion. It will not solve anything.

Let us see how this attraction for power or organized violence comes about and where it leads to: To begin with they aim at serving the society. Then they come to adopt the position that there must be some kind of an organization which they may employ for achieving this task. So they direct their efforts to setting up the organization. The organization having been set up, the question arises — who should control it? Every one is found to think that it had better be placed under his control. And so it comes about that the ideal of service recedes into the background and there ensues a most unseemly scramble for power. I have therefore come to the conclusion that we should seek to solve the problems with which we are faced without resort to power.

Certain thinkers have advocated another course to obviate the misuse of power. They say that power should rest with the wise or as Tulasidas said with the Sanyasins, that is, with men who have no attachment to worldly objects. But, for one thing, power is not endowed with intelligence to choose only the wise as its keeper; for another, the wise too cannot be expected to continue to use it for right ends. It might have been possible to use the power of violence with some degree of control over it in the olden days when the science was not so developed. The wise could claim with some justification that they would stop it when there was no more use for it. But this is not possible today. Controlled use of violence in the present state of science is an impossibility. Nonviolence or Satyagraha therefore is the only weapon available to us today for overcoming and settling all our problems, national and international.

(Adapted from Hindi)

* From a speech at Gaya on 30-3-'54.

EXPERIMENTS ON 'VANASPATI'

(*By V. M. Kothari*)

'Vanaspati' is generally manufactured from groundnut oil and to a certain extent from other oils also. It is ordinarily known as 'Vanaspati Ghee' in the market. But it is neither 'Ghee' nor even a direct product from 'Vanaspati'. Yet on account of its apparent resemblance with Ghee it is adulterated with Ghee and sold as Ghee in the market and hence it seriously competes with real pure Ghee. It is a calamity that an essential item of our diet like Ghee should be so adulterated. It is therefore thought necessary to control the manufacture of Vanaspati and protect pure Ghee in such a way that adulteration becomes impossible and people can clearly differentiate between the two. But such suggestions and resolutions have not been heeded to until now.

All along scientists have been investigating the effects of Vanaspati on bodily growth, digestion etc., but unfortunately their conclusions have not been unanimous. Recently Shri N. D. Keher has published the results of the experiments carried out in the Izatnagar Veterinary Research Institute. The following is a short summary of his article published in the February, 1954, number of *Indian Farming*:

"1. Cow-Ghee is a good source of Vitamin A. Its yellow colour is due to the presence of Carotene (a precursor of Vitamin A). Buffalo-Ghee generally does not contain Carotene and its Vitamin A content is usually lower than that in Cow-Ghee. Ghee ordinarily available in the market generally contains a very small amount of Vitamin A.

Refined oil or Vanaspati does not contain Vitamin A.

2. In the second and subsequent generations the rats of the Cow-Ghee groups showed, in general, a much better growth than the animals fed on Vanaspati or raw or refined oils. When however, the animals of the oil or Vanaspati groups are switched over to a liberal diet, the difference between the two diminishes.

3. When livers of the rats under experiment were examined, it was observed that the greatest amount of Vitamin A was found in the case of animals of the Cow-Ghee group.

4. Refining as well as hydrogenation of oil seemed to lower the capacity of the liver to store Vitamin A.

5. On prolonged feeding of diet along with Vanaspati of certain brands, various symptoms like *Alopacia, Xerophthalmia* and Paralysis were seen, while animals fed on Cow-Ghee were found to be comparatively less affected.

6. Experiments carried out to study the digestibility of these different products showed that the digestibility of all the fats and oils studied was more or less of the same order. But as for phospherous, Cow-Ghee appears to give better results than any other fat and it was superior to others in raising the biological value of the protein in the diets."

It is clear from the above observations that Cow-Ghee is the best of all dietary fats. It may be possible to lessen the deficiencies of Vanaspati by supplementing it with other diet, but the main points for consideration are:

Why should our National Government encourage Vanaspati at the cost of the indigenous dairy industry which is an important home industry of the millions in our country? Why should they support a nationally uneconomic industry of first destroying nutritive and digestive values of raw oils by refining or hydrogenation and then adding Vitamins to cover their deficiencies?

Language of Courts

The Chief Justice of Hyderabad, inaugurating the first Hyderabad Judicial Officers' Conference, said that he approved of the idea of making regional languages the language of the courts in different regions of the State, as that would enable litigants to understand the proceedings and decisions fully and help in the administration of justice. Among the many atrocious things that go on unchallenged still as the bad legacy of foreign rule, English as the language of courts is one. I am told that the official position regarding the language of courts upto the District level is the regional language at present. If it is true, there can be ordered an immediate reform in the wrong practice that has crept in, viz. using English where really it should not be. High Courts in India should immediately look into the matter and order their subordinate courts to work in regional languages. These need not wait till the High Courts change over to regional languages and/or Hindi.

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